

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 CAIRO 06172 01 OF 03 252314Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----044792 252317Z /61  
Z 252253Z FEB 78 ZFF-4  
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 6007  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM FLASH  
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 CAIRO 06172

EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

JERUSALEM FOR USDEL ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PGOV, XF, US  
SUBJECT: SADAT'S ORAL MESSAGE TO BEGIN

REF: (A) PARA 12, TEL AVIV 2566, (B) CAIRO 6128

1. HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH FONMIN KAMEL ALL AFTERNOON  
AND EVENING RE SADAT'S ORAL MESSAGE TO BEGIN. KAMEL  
TOLD ME THAT HE AND HIS STAFF HAD DECIDED TO REWRITE  
THE ORAL MESSAGE AND HAD SUBMITTED THEIR DRAFT TO SADAT  
IN ISMAILIA. AS OF 2100 THIS EVENING, HE HAD NOT YET  
LOOKED AT IT AND KAMEL WAS PRESSING HIM TO DO SO. IN ORDER  
TO GET IT TO ATHERTON SOMETIME THIS EVENING. AT 2315  
KAMEL TELEPHONED TO SAY SADAT HAD FINALLY CLEARED IT WITH  
A FEW ADDITIONS AND THAT TEXT WOULD BE SENT TO ME AT ONCE  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER. TEXT FOLLOWS:

2. QUOTE: ORAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT SADAT TO PRIME  
MINISTER BEGIN

- (1) I AM DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT THE PEACE EFFORTS TO  
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DATE ARE MOVING IN THE WRONG DIRECTION AND ARE NOT IN THE  
SPIRIT OF MY PEACE INITIATIVE IN GOING TO JERUSALEM.  
WHEREAS WE SHOULD BE DEALING WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF A  
COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT, WE ARE UNFORTUNATELY  
STILL DEALING WITH PROCEDURE AND WORDING. THIS IS WHAT  
MADE ME RECALL MY FOREIGN MINISTER FROM JERUSALEM BECAUSE  
I FELT THAT WE COULD SPEND ANOTHER TWO OR THREE YEARS

NEGOTIATING IN THE MANNER OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE IN JERUSALEM.

-- WORDING WILL BE EASY IF WE AGREE ON THE SUBSTANCE. AND MY INITIATIVE AIMED PRECISELY AT GETTING AWAY FROM PROCEDURAL AND WORDING PROBLEMS AND GOING DIRECTLY TO SUBSTANCE.

-- UNFORTUNATELY, DESPITE THE JERUSALEM AND ISMAILIA MEETINGS AND MY TALKS IN THE U.S. AND EUROPE, WE STILL FIND OURSELVES IN THE SAME POSITION THAT WE WERE IN PRIOR TO MY VISIT TO JERUSALEM. WHAT ISRAEL HAS RAISED IN THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL COMMITTEES COULD HAVE BEEN RAISED IN THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND BORE NO RELATIONSHIP TO MY NEW CONCEPT OF PEACE AS MATERIALIZED IN MY INITIATIVE.

- (2) I AM STILL COMMITTED TO PEACE. I AM NOT AGAINST RECONVENING THE POLITICAL OR THE MILITARY COMMITTEE BUT WE SHOULD GET THEM OUT OF THE WRONG DIRECTION THEY HAVE TAKEN IN ORDER TO ALLOW THEM TO ENGAGE IN THE RIGHT DIALOGUE. I AM NOT SEEKING TO IMPOSE CONDITIONS. NOR AM I SAYING THAT WE WILL NOT CONVENE OR HAVE DIRECT CONTACTS UNLESS ISRAEL DOES CERTAIN THINGS. NOR IN FACT IS THERE ANY GREAT USE TO SHUTTLE BACK AND FORTH WHEN WE HAVE NOT AGREED ON THE MAIN GUIDELINES OF A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT.

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-- I AGREE THAT THE ATHERTON MISSION SHOULD CONTINUE. I AM READY TO HAVE THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL COMMITTEES RESUME. BUT LET US NOT CONVENE AND THEN LET DOWN THE WHOLE WORLD.

-- I AM PREPARED TO LET THIS PROCESS CONTINUE. BUT WE HAVE TO REMEMBER THAT WHEN OCTOBER COMES AND MY COMMITMENT, ACCORDING TO SINAI II, TO RENEW AUTOMATICALLY UNEF EXPIRES, I WILL HAVE TO TELL MY PEOPLE THE TRUTH. I CANNOT DECEIVE THEM. AND WHAT WILL THEN HAPPEN I DO NOT KNOW.

- (3) LET US AGREE THAT ISRAEL HAS NEED FOR SECURITY. AND LET US ALSO AGREE THAT SECURITY SHOULD NOT BE AT THE EXPENSE OF LAND OR SOVEREIGNTY. THIS IS A BASIC AND ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLE OF TODAY'S WORLD. WITHOUT ACCEPTANCE OF THESE PRINCIPLES WE WILL CONTINUE TO MOVE IN CIRCLES AND LOSE PRECIOUS TIME. I WOULD ALSO REMIND YOU THAT YOU HAVE ASSURED OUR COMMON FRIEND PRESIDENT CARTER IN DECEMBER THAT ISRAEL'S SOVEREIGNTY WILL NOT EXCEED THE BORDERS OF 1967.

- (4) ON THE MATTER OF THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE, WHICH AS I SAID IS THE CORE OF THE PROBLEM, ISRAEL HAS NO RIGHT TO RAISE THE ISSUES IN TERMS OF LAND AND SOVEREIGNTY AND ON THE BASIS OF THE NEGATION OF THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. A SECURITY REQUIREMENT DOES INDEED EXIST FOR ISRAEL, WHICH I FULLY RECOGNIZED. TO MEET IT I AM READY, IN THE INTERIM PERIOD BETWEEN SIGNING AN AGREEMENT AND SELF-DETERMINATION, TO TAKE MY PART IN GAZA TOGETHER WITH ISRAEL, THE PALESTINIANS AND THE U.N. TO INSURE SECURITY. AS TO THE WEST BANK, IN MY JUDGMENT, THE U.N. SHOULD INITIALLY TAKE OVER AS I HAVE AGREED WITH KING HUSSEIN. SUBSEQUENTLY, HOWEVER, A QUADRIPARTITE

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----044833 252324Z /64  
Z 252253Z FEB 78 ZFF-4  
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 6008  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM FLASH  
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS (HANDLE AS NODIS)  
ARRANGEMENT COULD BE MADE, INCLUDING THE U.N., ISRAEL, KING HUSSEIN AND THE PALESTINIANS, TO INSURE SECURITY FOR ISRAEL DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD IN THE WEST BANK.

-- WHEN PRESIDENT CARTER ASKED IF ISRAEL COULD MAINTAIN A FEW LIMITED MILITARY POINTS FOR SECURITY DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD, I AGREED. BUT ISRAEL SHOULD BE CLEAR AND PRECISE ON THE MATTER OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.

- (5) THE ENTIRE PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED IN A FEW DAYS IF WE AGREE ON THE ELEMENTS OF A SETTLEMENT. WHEN I VISITED ISRAEL, I SAID I WISHED TO CREATE NEW FACTS AND CONCEPTIONS. ON THE EGYPTIAN SIDE THIS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. EGYPT NO LONGER HARBORS ANY BITTERNESS. WE HAVE ACCEPTED THE CONCEPT OF PEACE DESPITE OPPOSITION BY THE REJECTIONISTS.

-- REGRETTABLY, THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL HAS NOT YET

UNDERSTOOD THIS. IT STILL THINKS ONLY IN TERMS OF STRATEGIC ADVANTAGE AND CLAIMING OTHERS' LAND. BUT OUR LAND IS NOT SOMETHING WE CAN CONCEDE. EXCEPT FOR LAND AND SOVEREIGNTY, I AM READY TO GIVE EVERYTHING IN THE NATURE OF PEACE AS I HAVE ALREADY PROVED BY GOING TO JERUSALEM, BY INVITING YOU TO ISMAILIA, AND BY ESTABLISHING DIRECT CONTACTS AT THE CAIRO CONFERENCE

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AND IN THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY COMMITTEES.

-- I HAVE DONE THIS TO GIVE ISRAEL A SENSE OF SECURITY WHICH I REALIZE IT NEEDED. MY CONCEPT IS THAT OF GOOD NEIGHBORS. AND BOTH PARTIES SHOULD DO WHATEVER IS NEEDED TO HAVE GOOD NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS. BUT WE WILL NOT CONCEDE LAND.

- (6) THE REJECTIONISTS AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE ACTIVE BUT WE ARE FACING THEM. TERRORISM LIKE THE MURDER OF YOUSSEF EL SIBAI WILL NOT CHANGE OUR RESOLVE TO REACH PEACE. BUT PRIME MINISTER BEGIN SHOULD KNOW THAT HE HAS GIVEN THEM CARDS TO PLAY AGAINST MY PEACE EFFORTS AND HE HAS DONE MORE HARM TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE THAN THE REJECTIONISTS BY DISTORTING EVERYTHING I SAY:

-- HE HAS DISTORTED MY COMMENTS IN THE SUDAN ABOUT THE SETTLEMENTS, CLAIMING THAT I WISHED TO BURN THEM. THE RECORD SHOWS THAT I NEVER USED THE TERM "BURN." I SIMPLY SAID THAT THEY SHOULD BE REMOVED AND THE AIRPORTS COULD BE PLOWED UNDER BY ISRAEL AS IT HAD DONE IN 1957 IF IT IS CONCERNED THAT THEY MAY BE USED AS A BASE AGAINST IT.

-- PRIME MINISTER BEGIN HAS PUBLICLY CLAIMED THAT I WENT BACK ON MY WORD CONCERNING THE DEPLOYMENT OF EGYPTIAN MILITARY FORCES IN SINAI. I TOLD GAMASSY IN FRONT OF WEIZMAN THAT I HAD PROMISED PRIME MINISTER BEGIN THAT MY MAIN FORCES WILL NOT EXCEED THE PASSES. I NEVER GO BACK ON MY WORD.

-- A FEW DAYS BEFORE THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MET IN JERUSALEM, RADIO ISRAEL WAS REPORTING ABOUT SETTLEMENTS IN RAFAH, ON EGYPTIAN TERRITORY. ISRAEL WAS TRYING TO

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CREATE A FAIT ACCOMPLI. I WILL NEVER ALLOW IT TO TAKE MY LAND.

- (7) MY INITIATIVE WAS TAKEN TO FACILITATE ALL OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT UNDER LESS PRESSURE AND DIFFICULTY. IT HAS IMPROVED THE POSITION OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WITH ITS PUBLIC OPINION.

-- IT IS REGRETTABLE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL DOES NOT SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THIS.

- (8) AS FOR ME, I HAVE CHOSEN MY PATH. I WILL NOT LET DOWN THE HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS IN THE WORLD WHO HAVE SUPPORTED ME. OTHERWISE, I WOULD HAVE DECLARED TO THE WORLD THAT THERE IS NO CHANCE. I AM NOT SEEKING TO PUT MINES ON THE ROAD TO PEACE AND THE PEACE INITIATIVE CAN CONTINUE.

-- BUT THE WAY WE ARE WORKING WILL NEVER ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING. THE ISRAELI POSITION, I REGRET TO SAY, IS MUCH WORSE THAN BEFORE MY INITIATIVE AND IS UNDERMINING EVERYTHING I HAVE DONE BEFORE THE WHOLE WORLD.

- (9) IF PRIME MINISTER BEGIN IS READY FOR A REAL PEACE INITIATIVE, I AM, AS I HAVE PROVED, READY TOO. I AM READY FOR, AS THE AMERICANS SAY, "BIG BUSINESS" IF PRIME MINISTER BEGIN IS.

-- IN THAT CASE WE SHOULD DISCARD OLD CONCEPTIONS. IF THAT IS THE CASE, I AM READY IN ONE SESSION TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT ALONG THE GENERAL LINES OF A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT. THERE CAN BE A FIRST PHASE OF WITHDRAWAL IN SINAI AND WE CAN POSTPONE THE SECOND AND FINAL PHASE UNTIL THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION IS SETTLED.

-- IF ON THE CONTRARY OLD CONCEPTIONS REMAIN, WE WILL  
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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

-----044835 252325Z /64

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FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 6009

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM FLASH

INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS (HANDLE AS NODIS)

BE IN A VICIOUS CIRCLE.

- (10) I HAVE RISKED MUCH IN MY INITIATIVE. THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHERS ARE WORKING HARD TO PROVE THAT I AM WRONG. BUT I HAVE THE COURAGE TO FACE THEM, AS I HAVE THE COURAGE, IF I DO NOT SUCCEED, TO RESIGN AT ANY MOMENT. BUT I HOPE, FOR THE GOOD OF OUR TWO PEOPLES AND THE WHOLE WORLD, THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO ESTABLISH JUST AND LASTING PEACE. UNQUOTE.

3. COMMENT: IN SEEING THE DRAFT, IT IS LARGELY THE SUMMARY THAT I GAVE EARLIER TODAY TO KAMEL, BUT WITH SOME REORGANIZATION AND SOME ADDITIONS. IT WILL ALSO BE NOTED THAT SOME POINTS MENTIONED BY SADAT, I.E., SPECIFYING THAT THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY COMMITTEES SHOULD MEET IN ARISH AND BEERSHEVA, HAVE BEEN OMITTED. SADAT SAW AND APPROVED THE ABOVE DRAFT.

4. REQUEST THAT ATHERTON BE AUTHORIZED TO CONVEY SADAT'S ORAL MESSAGE TO PRIMIN BEGIN. EILTS

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** TEXT, PEACE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 25 feb 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**TAGS:** PREL, PBOR, EG, IS, (SADAT, ANWAR), (BEGIN, MENACHEM)  
**To:** STATE JERUSALEM MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
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